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largest number of delegates ever present at one of the Conferences of this body. The sessions were presided over by the Speaker of the Hungarian Lower House, the meetings being held in the House of the Hungarian Magnates. Delegates from various countries reported that the peace movement was growing rapidly everywhere. Mr. Philip Stanhope, who reported for England, was received with great applause. He gave an account of the progress during the year toward the establishment of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, which he believed would be realized before the close of the year. Count Apponyi, reporting for Hungary, said that the peace group in the Hungarian parliament now numbered 200.

The chief discussion of the Conference was on the subject of a permanent court of arbitration. Eloquent speeches were made on the subject, the discussion continuing all the first afternoon and a part of the next day. The basis of the discussion was the Plan for a permanent tribunal drawn up by the Conference at Brussels the previous year and sent in the form of a memorial to the different powers. The Interparliamentary Bureau at Berne was authorized to take steps to try to induce certain powers to proceed to create such a court.

The question of the protection of foreigners and the right of expulsion gave rise to an interesting discussion, and a number of proposals were adopted as to the civil, commercial, industrial and property rights of aliens, all in harmony with the best spirit of our time.

The question of neutrality, or the right of every state to declare itself neutral, was not discussed, but the Bureau was instructed to make a preliminary study of the subject.

The most animated debate in the Conference was upon the question whether delegates from non-constitutional states, like Russia, should be admitted into the Interparliamentary Peace Union. The discussion was participated in by delegates from Hungary, Poland, Austria, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium and England. The importance of securing the coöperation of Russia in the interests of peace was so ably presented by Count Apponyi and Mr. Stanhope that when the vote came only eleven votes were cast in opposition to their admission. The constitution of the Union will be so changed as to admit them.

The Report of the labors of the Interparliamentary Bureau at Berne was read by the Secretary of the Bureau, Dr. Gobat, and the members of the Bureau selected for the coming year.

The Conference closed, after three days of work, with a grand banquet given by the municipality of Buda-Pesth, at which the place of honor was given to Mr. Frederic Passy, the veteran peace worker of France.

SOME OBSTACLES TO INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

BY JEROME DOWD, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIOLOGY, TRINITY COLLEGE, N. C.

In every state or nation there exists a public conscience and a private conscience; a public morality and a private morality. In a democracy the national conscience is the expression or effect of individual minds and standards, and it is always inferior in quality to the individual standards.

People will do things collectively through their governmental executives and legislatures which they would blush to do as individuals. People who would not steal in a private way will sanction a legislative scheme which enables them to steal on a larger scale. People who would not repudiate a debt in their ordinary transactions, will sanction a legal process which accomplishes the same end. The history of every country, and especially our own during the colonial period, furnishes many examples of this truth.

The present policy of nations in reference to international protection of their respective rights and properties, forcibly illustrates the inferiority of that policy as compared to the policy adopted for protecting the rights and property of individuals within each nation.

As individuals we have a profound contempt for the bully or coward who seeks to command respect by walking the streets with a pistol in his pocket or a bowie-knife in his belt. As individuals we regard any citizen with aversion and as a sort of barbarian, who wishes to draw that pistol or bowie-knife, when he has a dispute or misunderstanding with his fellow-citizen over a small pecuniary transaction or question of trespass on private right. We neither admire nor respect men who wish to settle matters with their fellow-men by force and violence. The bully and the dueller have fallen into disfavor in all civilized countries and among all enlightened citizens.

Yet the policy of nations in settling their differences is exactly that of the bully and dueller. The resort to force by nations is only duelling on a larger scale, and it is none the less a shame and disgrace to our civilization. Only by appealing to the public through the press, and especially through the organs of Peace Societies can we effect a realization of the fact and arouse that consciousness and general sentiment which will result in a change of national policy.

We need to have the absurdity of our policy presented to a wide circle of people. A great obstacle to a strong arbitration sentiment is the existence of a false pride among the people. On this point, a quotation from Ruskin comes to mind. "Questions of a few acres or of petty cash," he says, "can be determined by truth and equity—the questions which are to issue in the perishing or saving of kingdom can be determined only by the truth of the sword and the equity of the rifle."

The absurdity of the present belligerent attitude of nations toward each other is strikingly brought home to us by a paragraph in Sidé's *Political Economy* as follows:

"If the man in the moon, or rather an inhabitant of Mars were to visit our planet and learn that a civilized country like France was obliged to spend £40,000,000 a year to insure safety, he would pity her for having such barbarous nations as neighbors, but his astonishment would be greater if told that new countries like America and Australia have little burden for armies, because their neighbors are fortunately savages."

DURHAM, N. C.

WHEN WILL THE PEACE OF FRANKFURT BECOME A REAL PEACE?

BY O. UMFRID.

Translated from *Die Waffen Nieder.*

On the 10th of May, this year, the memory of the peace concluded at Frankfurt twenty-five years ago, was cele-